

Syntactic echoes of pronominal cliticization and grammaticalization: the case of Old High German first-person plural *-mes*

Abstract

The origin of first person plural (1PL) “long” forms of the type *faramêš/-mes*¹ ‘(we) go’ in Old High German (OHG) is one of the most intractable problems in the history of the Germanic languages. Because these forms are confined only to OHG and have no obvious parallel elsewhere in Germanic or Indo-European, most of the tools of the comparative method are of little use, with the result that the many accounts put forward over the past two centuries rely on a series of unlikely and ad hoc assumptions. What is more, previous work has focused on the one aspect of the problem that scholars are least likely to solve given the array of texts we presently have at our disposal, while paying little attention to what we argue is the more promising line of inquiry. That is, existing studies discuss in detail the possible morphological sources of *-mes* and their phonological development and focus little on the syntactic environments in which verbs inflected with *-mes* occur. We intend to reverse this trend through a comprehensive examination of *-mes* across the OHG corpus, with a particular focus on two of its major monuments, the OHG *Tatian* and Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch*; this analysis shows that the syntactic distribution of *-mes*-inflected verbs point to the suffix being diachronically and synchronically pronominal. Thus, we conclude that *-mes* must have arisen as the result of pronominal cliticization, a suggestion first put forth by Kuhn (1869) and Paul (1877).

1. Introduction

Wilhelm Streitberg comments in his *Urgermanische Grammatik* (1896: 321) “Schwierigkeiten macht ahd. *-mes*” [“Old High German *-mes* causes difficulties”, our translation]. It is not difficult to see why. If the first person plural suffix (1PL) *-mes* represents a verb form inherited from Proto-Indo-European (PIE), for example, then it is difficult to account for the fact that there is no trace of it in Germanic outside of Old High German (OHG). That is, the inherited PIE present indicative 1PL suffix **-omos* (> Proto-Germanic **-amaz*) transitions neatly to Old Norse *-um* and Gothic *-am*, in accordance with the Laws of Finals. OHG, on the other hand, shows the unexpected addition of *-es*, which cannot be readily derived from the Proto-Germanic (PGmc.) form.

The remaining West Germanic languages are of no use since they all have generalized a uniform plural for all three persons unrelated to the inherited 1PL form:

(1) PGmc	<i>*beramaz</i> ‘(we) carry’
Gothic	<i>baíram</i>
Old Icelandic	<i>berum</i>
Old English	<i>beraþ</i>
Old Saxon	<i>berad</i>
Old Frisian	<i>berat(h)</i>
Old High German	<i>berumes</i>

Given these facts it seems preferable to seek the source of OHG *-mes* within (pre-)OHG itself, though there have been various attempts to trace it to the PIE parent language.

There are two general avenues of inquiry on the origin of the OHG 1PL *-mes* forms, both of which are fraught with difficulties. The first of these argues that, unlike Gothic *-am* and Old Norse *-um*, the OHG long inflection derives from some other PIE verb form. The second argues

¹ We refer to the suffix only as *-mes*, with no judgment on the length of the vowel. Johannsson (2009) raises the possibility that the suffix <-mees> in the *Benediktinerregel*, the only OHG text that exhibits orthographic evidence of a long *e*, might be the result of a secondary development.

that the long inflection is an original, now grammaticalized, pronominal clitic of the sort PIE **bʰéromes wéyes* > PGmc **beramiz wīs* > OHG *berames*. Both accounts suffer from shaky empirical foundations and ad hoc explanations of what the phonological and morphological sources of the *-mes* suffix were. With respect to accounts that look to establish a PIE source for the *-mes* suffix, the empirical problems stem from the fact that there simply are not enough good data to support an etymological *-mes*, a state of affairs that inspires a series of creative solutions. In contrast, there are good morphosyntactic data available to either support or undermine a cliticization and grammaticalization argument, but these have been neglected in favor of a focus on the more problematic, possibly irresolvable, morphological aspects of a cliticization account. Our approach to the problem of *-mes* is different: following Somers's (2011) treatment of the second person singular (2SG) suffix in OHG, we begin with the assumption that if *-mes* is a (grammaticalized) clitic pronoun, then its syntactic distribution in OHG texts vis-à-vis the nonpronominal short form should bear witness to this fact. Thus, we isolated all occurrences of the 1PL in the major and many of the minor eighth- and ninth-century texts and analyzed the syntactic contexts in which they occurred. Of particular importance are the OHG *Tatian* and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* in that they contain a significant number of both long and short 1PL endings and their clauses can be subjected to syntactic analysis. These data, though they exhibit some interesting text-dependent variation, point unequivocally to the conclusion that OHG *-mes* is pronominal.

In presenting this argument, we wrestle with some important questions concerning how to marry theoretical accounts of morphological change to empirical reality. In particular, we ask how well the grammaticalization cline fits the variable, seemingly messy data attested in historical sources, and how these data can inform our ideas of how grammaticalization processes unfold. Rightward progression on the grammaticalization cline is often conceived of as something like a train journey whereby a pronoun moves to one waypoint to the next on the way to becoming inflection. Our data, however, indicate that grammaticalizing clitics do not always take definitive, rightward steps en masse. We are also concerned with establishing (and adhering to) clear methodological principles that we believe should guide any diachronic analysis involving OHG. That is, research on language change in early German is challenging for a number of reasons. Most relevant to the current project is the fact that the corpus comprises a relatively small set of synchronic snapshots each of which represents one idiolect or an amalgam of idiolects, each snapshot a genetically related but independent grammatical system. Any attempt to make diachronic generalizations across texts must be undertaken carefully and marked by extreme parsimony.

The article proceeds as follows. In section 2, we review the existing literature that deals with the 1PL suffix, then discuss grammaticalization as a theoretical framework used to account for instances of inflectional change. In the latter section, we look at the similar case of the 2SG *-st* in OHG as a means of elucidating *-mes*'s development. Section 3 examines the 1PL data in OHG—with a particular focus on *Tatian* and Otfrid—and argues that patterns across the board point to the long form's pronominal origins. We conclude the article with section 4.

2. Literature review and methodological framework

In this section we aim to provide the reader with an overview of previous scholarship that has discussed *-mes* (section 2.1.), as well as a treatment of the grammaticalization cline and its application to a related instance of inflectional change in OHG, that is, the 2SG *-st* (section 2.2.). The section concludes with a description of our data gathering and tagging process and a brief treatment of certain philological matters (section 2.3.)

2.1. Previous literature on the phonological development of *-mes* in Germanic

In what follows we will argue that a major avenue of inquiry into the origin of OHG *-mes* is sorely underrepresented in the extensive literature on the topic: the morphosyntactic context of the *-mes* forms. Though Sievers (1966: xxix) does note that *-mes* forms in the *Tatian* are rarely

accompanied by a following overt subject pronoun, there is little additional discussion of the syntactic context in which *-mes* forms are found in the Tatian, and evidence from other textual sources is not noted. Other research focuses heavily on possible morphological sources of *-mes* and their phonological development. We choose to analyze the syntactic context of the *-mes* forms while also drawing attention to the fact that pronominal cliticization is a major feature of the relevant OHG data sources which results in additive verbal morphology during the OHG, the development of sequences such as *feris thu* 'you go' to *feristu* > *ferist thu* in the 2SG (Sihler 1986; Somers 2011).

Attempts to derive *-mes* from an inherited PIE verb form are numerous (Kögel 1882; Brugmann 1904; Roberts 1935; Krahe 1957; Boutkan 1995; Shields 1996), but none has found general acceptance. Each account fails on more than one of the following weaknesses: 1) introduction of a new 1PL form from another PIE verbal ending is poorly motivated and has affected only OHG among the various early Germanic languages; 2) the suggested forms cannot yield OHG *-mes* phonologically; 3) the suggested development relies on at least one ad hoc assumption in terms of the alleged constituents claimed for *-mes*; 4) the suggested sources cannot account for the final *s* in *-mes*. An outlier in this tradition is Bech (1962), whose tortured attempt to derive *-mes* from the analogical extension of the 2SG optative ending *-ēs* onto the extant 1PL has met with no support whatsoever in the literature. Detailed discussion of these various attempts can be found in Boutkan (1995: 313-317) and especially in Johannsson (2009: 91-109).

The proposal that *-mes* represents a contraction of the inherited 1PL indicative present ending and the 1PL personal pronoun also has a long history, though it generally focuses heavily on the phonological development of the alleged forms rather than on the likelihood or non-likelihood of a cliticized form on syntactic grounds (Kuhn 1869; Paul 1877; Sievers 1966; Prokosch 1939; Hollifield 1980). Since we do not know when this process might have taken place, we do not even know whether the verb ending involved was more like PGmc **-amaz* or OHG *-am*, and we cannot know if the subject pronoun was the attested OHG *wir* or if a doublet such as another reflex of PGmc **wīs* may have been involved. Furthermore, since the contraction would be a unique development, we have no basis for judging what kinds of proposed sequences of events would be likely and which less likely. Even in those instances of cliticization and grammaticalization where we do have data on the “before” and “after” stages of contractions (e.g., MNL *ne waere* > NNL *maar* ‘but, only’; MHG *ne wære* > NHG *nur* ‘but, only’), we are hard pressed to account for different outcomes. All of these accounts must therefore be viewed as highly speculative. We argue that this type of discussion is premature and the least fruitful avenue of inquiry with regard to the possibility that *-mes* resulted from a process of cliticization.

In our following analysis we step back from the thorny issues of morphological and phonological issues involved in the development of OHG *-mes* and ask some fundamental questions about the likelihood that *-mes* arose as the result of pronominal cliticization. Among the questions we will address are: 1) in what syntactic environments does *-mes* occur or not? 2) in what syntactic environments do we typically find sequences of inverted *Verb + uuir*? 3) what verbal categories are more or less commonly associated with a *mes*-inflected verb? The following section explains the theoretical basis for these questions.

2.2. Methodological basics

The purpose of this section is to lay out the methodological parameters that guide our analysis. In its first part, we discuss some of the literature that has dealt with the question of how clitics become inflection, in order to establish which data patterns might point toward *-mes* having pronominal origins. We pay particular attention to the introduction of the *-st* ending during the OHG period, a change that bears similarities to the case of *-mes*, as well as the question of how *pro*-drop patterns might also indicate that a suffix is pronominal. In the second part of this section, we present the syntactic parameters of our analysis and discuss how they guided the data tagging process.

2.2.1. Cliticization and grammaticalization

The scholarly literature usually characterizes the diachronic process whereby pronouns become inflectional affixes as instances of grammaticalization, in that an originally independent word takes on the more grammatical function of an agreement marker. This development from pronoun to affix can be schematized as follows (see Zwicky and Pullum 1983; Hopper and Traugott 2003; Brinton and Traugott 2005; Norde 2009 for more details):

(1) grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

Though the cline in (1) implies that grammaticalization unfolds neatly along well defined waypoints, historical and dialectal evidence suggests a more complicated story. For example, one historical text may show variation between two inflectional affixes, one original and the other innovative. This is certainly the case for the 1PL ending in OHG, in which texts like Otfrid and the Tatian exhibit oscillation between *-mes* and an assumed etymological *-In*, even within the same morphological category.

(2) uuanne gisahun uuir thih ... nacotan inti bithactumes?
 when see- PRET.IND we you naked and clothe-PRET.IND
 ‘When did we see you naked and clothe (you)?’
 (quando autem te vidimus hospitem et collegimus te...?) (152,4)

What is more, verbal inflection that is pronominal in origin tends not to behave like other agreement markers (see De Vogelaer 2010: 9-10).

(3) Central Bavarian:

- a. das**ma** mia aaf Minga fahr**n**/***ma**
 that-1PL we to Munich go
 ‘(...) that we are going to Munich’
- b. mia fahr**ma**/***n** aaf Minga
 we go to Munich
 ‘We are going to Munich’
- c. fahr**ma**/***n** mia aaf Minga
 go we to Munich
 ‘Are we going to Munich?’ (examples from Weiß 2005: 159-60)

As shown in (3), pronominal endings can be restricted to certain syntactic environments: in the case of Central Bavarian the pronominal **-ma** only appears in main clause position, attached either to a finite verb or complementizer, never in a verb-late subordinate clause construction.

None of the patterns exhibited in (2) and (3) can be captured easily in the schematized cline presented in (1), and, in trying to account for such data, scholars have been compelled to focus on *how* a pronoun or pronominal clitic becomes inflection, on what sorts of diachronic processes are involved. The scholarship surrounding the parallel case of the introduction and extension of the 2SG suffix *-st* in OHG is the most pertinent example of such an attempt and is worth examining in some detail here. This discussion draws on the two main studies that have examined *-st*, Somers (2011) and Sihler (1986), but also makes reference to the conceptual categories laid out in Fertig (2013). The basic narrative of how the *t* is introduced into the general paradigm of the 2SG can be represented as follows:

(4) 1. 2. 3.
 feris thu > ferist(h)u > ferist thu
 go you ‘you go’

The first assumption represented in (4) is that speakers often produce inverted *Verb-Subject* (VS) collocations, a conclusion that seems to be backed by the textual data in which VS sequences

surface frequently and in several different types of constructions, e.g., in imperative clauses or in clauses with an initial topicalized *wh*-word or emphasized constituent. Next, in allegro speech the prosodically light subject pronoun tends to cliticize onto the preceding verb, and the two constituents form a clitic group. That speakers of ninth-century vernaculars indeed produced clitic groups like the one represented in (4)'s step 2. finds support in various texts from this time period, in which the verb and pronominal clitic are written as one orthographic unit; for example, Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* has the forms *bistu* 'are-you', *uuizisthu* and *uuizistu* 'may know-you' and *sihistu* 'see-you', among others; the Tatian has *biginnistu* 'begin-you', *quidistu* 'say-you' and *uuirdistu* 'become-you'. In the final stage outlined in (4) some kind of resegmentation occurs, whereby "the location of grammatically significant boundaries" is affected (Fertig 2013: 27). More specifically, speakers have reanalyzed the *t* as belonging not just to the pronoun, but also the inflectional ending; the *-st* suffix becomes a new marker of 2SG verbs in OHG and the only marker in later stages of German.

But what prompts the resegmentation in the first place? Sihler (1986) argues that the analogical pressure of some of the preterit-present verbs, which have an etymological *t* in the 2SG combined with a preceding *s* (*uueist* '(you) know', *kanst* '(you) are able to', but not *scalt* '(you) should' or *maht* '(you) are able to'), and the early extension of *t* to the verb *to be* (*bist*) constitute the crucial impetus to this reanalysis; it is only because tokens like *bist* and *uueist* existed that there would ever be any ambiguity in how to resolve a sequence like *feristu*. Yet despite the analogical pressure certain verbs may have brought to bear on the 2SG ending, it seems clear that *t* must have stemmed from an enclitic *thu*; Somers (2011) demonstrates, for example, that in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* composite *-st* is favored in cliticization environments, that is, when the finite verb appears in clause-early position in a main clause, and is dispreferred in environments in which pronominal encliticization can never occur, that is, when the finite verb appears in a clause-late subordinate clause. This distribution is difficult to explain if *t* is not pronominal in some way.

Accepting the proposition that pronominally derived inflection can show a syntactically sensitive asymmetric distribution leaves us with one theoretical wrinkle vis-à-vis grammaticalization. That is, if a pronoun is reanalyzed as inflection *why* does it maintain that syntactic sensitivity? Does not the term 'reanalysis' imply that the newly minted inflectional suffix is no longer a pronoun and should, therefore, no longer behave like one? Hopper's (1991:22) 'Principle of Persistence' attempts to capture similar data by allowing for an intermediate stage between the lexical morpheme and morphologization, where the grammaticalizing form maintains "some traces of its original lexical meanings ... and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution". During this stage "a dominant earlier meaning" and the new meaning may exist side-by-side in a grammar for a time (Hopper 1991: 28). The description certainly is apt with respect to our data, but, if we accept reanalysis as the mechanism driving the grammaticalization of pronouns, we still must explain how the same morpheme can sometimes behave like inflection (e.g., by co-occurring with a subject pronoun), and other times not.

Somers (2011: 153-6) attempts to answer this question by defining leftward movement on the grammaticalization cline primarily as a fossilization of the relevant syntactic collocation, a phenomenon she calls 'form fossilization'. That is, independent words are ordered in the clause according to the rules of syntax, whereas clitics and inflectional affixes are syntactically restricted, in that they are bound to a host or stem, respectively. The grammaticalized pronominal affix, then, is the product of a freezing—or fossilization—of what was originally a syntactic structure; we might expect the affix to exhibit a distribution similar to that of the original collocation, which in the case of the innovative 2SG suffix would be verb-early (usually) main clause configuration. Somers (2011) does not discuss whether or how form fossilization would work on the level of the individual speaker, however, and it would be problematic to claim that language learners somehow retain knowledge of an innovative suffix's provenance. We suggest instead that learners associate innovative pronominal suffixes with the syntactic configurations that produced them in the first place, that is, verb-early, and the original suffix with verb-late, the

state of affairs on display in the Otfrid text. In the case of *-st* (and *-mes*, we will see), then, the original syntactic environment for *-st* is maintained for a time and likely reinforced by the fact that speakers still actively produce *Verb + thu* cliticizations.

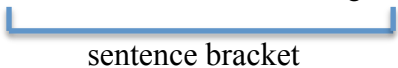
An account of *-mes* as pronominal clitic must diverge from that of *-st* for the simple fact that *-st* is extended into the rest of the verbal paradigm and becomes the predominant 2SG ending, whereas *-mes* disappears. Analogy is likely the cognitive mechanism behind *-st*'s extension beyond the syntactic context that birthed it, i.e., VS. Fertig (2013: 10-12) defines analogy as “the capacity of speakers to produce meaningful linguistic forms that they may have never before encountered, based on patterns they discern across other forms belonging to the same linguistic system.” In the case of *-st*, speakers extend the new inflection from clause-early verbs to clause-late verbs, because preterit-present verbs ending in *-st* (e.g. *weist*, *kanst*) as well as the already grammaticalized *bist* occurred here. We argue in Section 3 that *-mes* found much less fertile ground, had no such analogical models encouraging its spread. Drawing on Somers's (2011) analysis of *-st*, we propose this basic syntactic parameter for establishing whether *-mes* is pronominal in origin: do verbs inflected with *-mes* tend to surface in syntactic environments where cliticization can occur, and do non-*-mes* suffixes surface in environments where cliticization can never occur?

Another main feature that we isolated in our data was whether a first person plural verb co-occurred with non-overt subjects and *pro*-drop. The question of whether *pro*-drop was possible in the OHG dialects is contested. Germanists have traditionally held that referential *pro*-drop was no longer in widespread use in the ninth century and that attested cases, most numerous represented in the OHG translational texts, are actually instances of Latin loan syntax (Hopper 1975; Eggenberger 1961). Other studies, for example Axel (2007), Axel & Weiß (2010), have concluded the opposite, that OHG did have referential *pro*-drop, and even more recent works have again argued in favor of the traditional view (Somers, in press). Regardless of how one views the topic of *pro*-drop in the OHG dialects, there is evidence that the *-mes* suffix interacts with the subject pronoun; that is, there seems to be a correlation between the *-mes* ending and non-overt subject pronouns. Were we to conclude that *-mes* had never been a pronoun, such a correlation becomes more difficult to explain. The correlation does, however, make a certain amount of sense if considered in the light of the grammaticalization cline: affixes that used to be subject pronoun clitics might still be able to function as some kind of person marker. Of course, the latter assumption quickly exposes the limitations of the grammaticalization cline as an analytical tool. To wit, if speakers have reanalyzed a pronominal clitic as inflection, why and how would the affected morpheme maintain person marking function? Does not the movement from a clitic to an affix imply a shift in syntactic category? Is *-mes* even inflection, or should we perhaps treat it as a clitic instead? We return to these questions in our analysis section.

2.2.2. Syntactic analysis within the topological field model

In this section, we present the model we used as the basis for the syntactic tagging of the data and explain how extragrammatical factors, particularly in the Tatian translation, affected this process. We relied on the topological field model (Wöllstein-Leisten et al. 1997: 53-4) as a straightforward way of capturing patterns in the surface order of clausal constituents.

(5) prefield left sentence bracket inner field right sentence bracket postfield



sentence bracket

The structure presented in (5) not only captures many of the linearization patterns in the OHG data, it also makes no derivational assumptions. Importantly, it reflects the tendency for finite verbs to occur in clause-second (left bracket) or a clause-late or -final (right bracket) position. We will see that main clauses correlate, but are not defined by, a left bracket placement of the verb, whereas subordinate clauses correlate with, but are not defined by, a right bracket placement. The model is also consistent with the related tendency for prefield sentential

constituents to be held to one, though several constituents may separate the left and right brackets or may be placed in the postfield. In the terms of this framework, pronouns can only cliticize onto preceding finite verbs in the left bracket. Pronominal encliticization is not possible when the finite verb is in the right bracket, unless one also assumes that subject pronouns can surface in the postfield, which we do not. Thus, we will look for *-mes* to attach more frequently to left bracket verbs and less frequently to right bracket verbs.

In order to work within these parameters we had to decide whether the first person plural inflected verb was in the left or right bracket; this decision was not always easy when analyzing the translational texts, due to extragrammatical factors. Consider the following example from the Tatian.

(6) Latin	OHG
& dicebant. nonne hic est ihesus.	Inti quadun eno nist theser ihesus
filius ióseph. cuius nos nouimus	iosebes sun thes uuir uuizumes
patrem & matrem quomodo ergo dicit	fater inti muoter, uuvo quidit
(82, 8 Sievers, 123,4-6 Masser)	

‘And they said, “Is this not Jesus, / Joseph’s son, of whom we know / the father and mother?
How then does he say ...’ (82, 8)

As Dittmer & Dittmer (1998: 23) note, the translators endeavored to maintain the line breaks of the Latin text, which, in this case, leads to the placement of *uuizumes* immediately after the subject pronoun and that of *fater inti muoter* in the next line. Do we tag *uuizumes* as a left bracket verb with the accusative *fater inti muoter* in the inner field or treat *uuizumes* as a right bracket verb with object noun phrases in the postfield? In such cases we opted for the latter analysis. The fact that *thes* is not immediately followed by the finite verb *uuizumes*, i.e., is attested in an *XP + Finite verb + Subject pronoun* configuration, implies that the *thes* should be treated as a relative pronoun not a demonstrative one. If *thes* is a relative pronoun, then it follows that the clause in which it occurs is subordinate. The topological field model highlights the tendency for subordinate clauses to have right bracket verbs; thus, we could conclude that *uuizumes* is in the right bracket and *fater inti muoter* in the postfield. This conclusion is consistent with Sapp (2016: 403), which demonstrates that the unmarked order in the right periphery in OHG is *Object-Verb* (OV). In making this argument for such clauses, we do not necessarily foreclose the possibility that subordinate clauses can have left bracket verbs, though if this were the case, it would undermine the validity of the topological field model. However, in subsequent pages we argue that the occurrence of *-mes*—particularly in the Tatian, where the verbal frame is often undermined by the composer’s evident desire to maintain the line breaks of the Latin—is sensitive to a postfinite (i.e., enclitic) positioning of the subject pronoun. Subject pronouns are *never* in enclitic position in subordinate clauses, regardless of whether that clause exhibits a surface V2 or a more obviously right bracket syntax.

2.3. Data, database and additional philological matters

Our database comprises all 1PL forms attested in the major and relevant minor eighth and ninth century OHG texts with some exceptions. Included in our tally are 1PL tokens from the so-called minor texts, that is the eighth century glosses (*Abrogans*, *Murbacher Hymne* and *Benediktinerregel*) and the early ninth century *Freisinger Paternoster*². Of the major early OHG

² We exclude data from the *Weissenburg Catechism*, since it is thought to represent translations by different individuals copied by the same scribe (Bostock 1976: 112). The treatment of 1PL forms is different in part a), where the ending is consistently *-ēm* with overt subject pronoun (*uuir farlāzzēm* ‘we forgive’) and part e) in which only *-mes* forms occur with no overt subject pronouns (*lobômês thih* ‘(we) praise thee’) (Braune/Ebbinghaus 1994: 34, 37). The difference is most likely the result of two different translators rather than a reflection of a consistent pattern of variation across the entire text.

texts, we isolated all 1PL forms from the OHG Isidor, the OHG Tatian and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*. The first two texts are Latin translations, the third a direct composition in Otfrid's South Rhenish Franconian vernacular. Of these three texts, the Alemannic Isidor is the earliest, dating from the late eighth century; both the OHG Tatian and Otfrid are ninth century texts, the former dating from the first half of the century, the latter from the second. These two texts also represent our most substantial OHG offerings by far; each of them comprises several thousands of lines. Other major texts in the OHG corpus, e.g., the *Ludwisgied*, *Muspilli*, are not in the database for the simple fact that they have few or no 1PL forms. Also not included in the database is Notker, who composed in his Bavarian vernacular more than a century after Otfrid. There is no trace of *-mes* in his writings. We can take this fact to mean that *-mes* had died out by then and could perhaps characterize this loss—from Otfrid, who wrote around the year 865 to Notker around the turn of the millennium—as abrupt. However, the few extant Bavarian texts from the earlier OHG period have no 1PL tokens. Thus we have no way of knowing whether *-mes* was attested in this dialect in the first place. Similarly, there are no extant attestations of the dialects of the OHG Tatian, the OHG Isidor and Otfrid from the tenth century and, so, we have no empirical foundation for tracing the loss of *-mes* in these dialects either. What we do know is that by the mid-eleventh century, when people again began composing texts in the vernacular, the *-mes* suffix was gone.

We relied on the standard editions. In the case of the Tatian, we used Masser's diplomatic edition along with the standard Sievers edition, both of which are based on the one complete version of the translation found in the Codex Sangallensis 56, known as manuscript G. Unless indicated otherwise, all citations are for the Sievers edition. All 1PL tokens were entered into an Access database and their syntactic (e.g., verb and subject placement) and morphological features (e.g., tense, mood and suffix type) were tagged. In the case of the Tatian, we also included the corresponding Latin text and some grammatical features of those structures.

This brings us to a few remaining philological matters; the first has to do with the question of the Tatian's Latin source text, the second with Otfrid's metrical scheme. Beginning with the former, Wissmann (1960) and Baumstark (1965) argue that the Latin that appears alongside the OHG is not, in fact, the source text for the OHG translation and that instances in which the OHG deviates from the apparently corresponding Latin clause might not be cases in which a native construction has asserted itself, but rather a translation of some other source text that is now lost. This view, however, has seen more recent mitigation in Masser (1997: 123-24) and Jones (2009: 243) who conclude that the Latin text that appears alongside manuscript G is the main source of the OHG translation in G, though other texts housed in the Fulda monastery likely fed into the translation. The question is less relevant to the current analysis, which does not focus any particular attention on instances of OHG deviation. What is more, questions about the source text have greater implications for studies that seek to draw general conclusions about the Tatian's clausal syntax, whereas we are concerned with simply deciding whether the finite verb is in the right or left bracket. The distinction between main (left bracket) clauses and subordinate (right bracket) clauses in this text is generally clear, though there is a subset of clauses where it is less clear.

- (7) Inti fon sínero folnessi uuir alle **inphahemes** inti geba furi geba
 and from his fullness we all receive and grace for grace
 et de plenitudine eius nos omnes accipimus et gratiam pro gratia
 'And we all receive from his fullness grace upon grace' (John 1, 16)
 (13,9)

In (7) the OHG syntax closely matches the Latin source; only the determiner *eius* and its complement *plenitudine* were rearranged. The status of such asyndetic verb-final clauses has been debated in the literature: Axel (2007 68-77) concludes that there are no asyndetic verb-final main clauses in OHG, that those attested in the translational texts are in fact verb-third clauses, which are underlyingly verb-second, and that the multitude of examples attested in Otfrid are creations of the end rhyme scheme. Somers (in press, forthcoming), however, presents evidence

to the opposite effect—that our one extensive example of vernacular composition does not have a verb-third clause type and that, after controlling for effects of rhyme and meter, many cases of asyndetic verb-late clauses remain. We adopted the latter work’s conclusions and, thus, treated clauses like (7) as exhibiting right bracket finite verbs. Obviously the OHG translation closely mirrors the Latin, but we assume that the verb-late placement in a main clause was a grammatical option in OHG as it was in Latin.

Extragrammatical influence on Otfrid’s choice of long or short suffix seems a likelier possibility. The *Evangelienbuch* is not a translation but a work of poetry, which has end rhyme and a set of metrical cadences. The data, however, show little evidence that poetic considerations influenced whether a long or short suffix is attested in a 1PL context in any consistent way. First, we will see in the following section that the *-mes* inflection in Otfrid is confined to left bracket verbs; none of these verbs appear in verse-final position and, thus, are not influenced by the rhyming imperative. Potentially more problematic are the metrical cadences, which favor an alternating pattern between stressed and unstressed syllable without the free-filling of unstressed dips evident in alliterative verse. Inflecting a 1PL verb with the short form rather than the long form appears to have metrical consequences.

(8) ó = stressed syllable, x = unstressed dip, ò = beat that receives secondary stress³

- a. *Ēigun* wir thia gúati gilicha théganheiti (L 45-46)⁴
 ó x ó x ó ò (x) ó x ó x ó ò
- b. Joh bírumes mit rédinu in zuívalteru fréwidu: (II 6,57)
 (x) ó x ó x ó x ò (o) ó x ó x ó x ò
 [(x) ó x x x ó x ò (o) ó x x x ó x ò]

In both clauses in (8), the a-verse would not have conformed to its respective cadence (feminine in the case of a., trisyllabic in the case of b.) and the general pattern of alternating single stressed and unstressed beats, had the poet opted for the other 1PL ending. Thus, it is possible that Otfrid’s inflectional choices in (8) reflect a metrical, rather than a grammatical decision. However, we are not convinced by the argument that the metrical imperative generally predominated over grammatical considerations when Otfrid made inflectional choices in the 1PL. For one, Somers (in press) notes that the metrical conformance rate in her dataset of 1,032 verses was 57.1%; that is, 42.9% of verses she examined did not conform to their metrical cadence. These data support Bostock’s (1976: 326) conclusion that the cadences should be understood as a prosodic tendency rather than an unyielding pattern, that “we should imagine the lines read as naturally as possible with the principal features of Otfrid’s meter being two balanced verses held together through terminal rhyme. Related to this point, we bear in mind that these lines would have been composed not for the purposes of silent individual reading, but to be read aloud by the medieval reader (Green 1994: 15 and *passim*), either to himself or to others. In our minds the bracketed scansion for (8b) is likelier, both in terms of what the poet intended and what the text’s readers themselves would have produced. Also note that, had the poet thought the *-Ńn* ending were the grammatical choice in this context (or *-mes* the ungrammatical one), he could opted for it and simply included an overt subject pronoun: *bírumes* and *bírun wir* are metrically equivalent, scanned as óxó or óxx. The data in (12) reveal that the short ending often is attested with an overt subject pronoun and the long ending with *pro-drop*⁵.

³ An ideal verse held four metrical lifts, which comprised syllables that received either primary or secondary stress. Any anacrustic syllables were generally held to one syllable. See Bostock (1976: 206-10, 322-26) for further details on Otfrid’s poetic scheme.

⁴ ‘We have the same perfection, the same courage’ (L 45-46); ‘And with reason, we are in a twofold joy’ (II 6,57)

⁵ Of the 5 *-mes* tokens in Otfrid with an overt subject pronoun, 3 exhibit VS (V 23, 7a; IV 5, 49a; III 26, 3) and 2 (V 2, 7; III 3, 13) SV.

3. Data and analysis

We have argued that previous research on the origin of *-mes* forms focuses heavily on morphological solutions, regardless of whether the argument attempts to derive *-mes* from a PIE verb form or claims that *-mes* results from pronominal cliticization. The general lack of discussion of the syntactic context of attested *-mes* forms to a certain extent must be attributable to the very nature of our extant OHG texts. Most early texts are either glossaries, interlinear glosses, or relatively short translations of Latin texts. None of these sources provide extensive evidence for the syntactic context of the *-mes* forms, though the *Isidor* and the *Freisinger Paternoster* do yield some suggestive facts.

Given the relative paucity of data on the *-mes* forms, the early minor texts deserve consideration, despite their syntactic shortcomings. Though syntactic structure is often opaque, identifying grammatical category for the 1PL in these texts is a relatively straightforward proposition in that we have a Latin source form for which the distinction between indicative and subjunctive is clear, the latter of which is consistently translated as an OHG optative. On the other hand, deciding whether a 1PL has taken on adhortative semantics, i.e., *Let us pray* versus simply *We pray*, is not possible for most of the texts represented in (9), as such determinations require sufficient semantic context. This to say that unlike the imperative, which in OHG is morphologically distinct and, thus, easy to spot, the adhortative is a semantic and pragmatic feature that can map onto indicative or optative verbs; e.g., we will see below that adhortative semantics map onto the 1PL present indicative in the Tatian and the present optative in Otfrid and Isidor. The distribution of *-mes* versus non-*-mes* suffixes across the minor texts and Isidor is represented in (9); note that a null value indicates that the 1PL of that particular grammatical category is absent in the text.

(9) Long and short forms across the “minor” texts and *Isidor*

	Pres. Ind.	Pres. Opt.	Pret. Ind.	Pret. Opt.	Passive [†]
Abrogans (n=32)	24 <i>-mes</i> 0 non- <i>mes</i>	4 <i>-mes</i> 0 non- <i>mes</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 2 <i>-om</i>	0	0 <i>-mes</i> 2 <i>-um</i>
Murbacher Hymne (n=81)	35 <i>-mes</i> 1 <i>-um</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 43 <i>-Vm</i>	1 <i>-mes</i> 0 non- <i>mes</i>	0	0 <i>-mes</i> 1 <i>-un</i>
Benediktiner- regel (n=56)	44 <i>-me(e)s</i> 0 non- <i>mes</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 3 <i>-e(e)m</i>	5 <i>-mes</i> 0 non- <i>mes</i>	0	1 <i>-mes</i> 3 <i>-um</i>
Freisinger Pater- noster (n=10)	5 <i>-mes</i> 0 non- <i>mes</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 1 <i>-êm</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 1 <i>-un</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 3 <i>-în</i>	0
Isidor (n = 23)	10 <i>-mes</i> 0 non- <i>mes</i>	10 <i>-mes</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 2 <i>-om</i>	0 <i>-mes</i> 1 <i>-im</i>	0

[†]The periphrastic passive

Although the minor texts provide limited and incomplete data, certain patterns do emerge that prove useful in our analyses of the domains of 1PL *-mes* forms. The lack of syntactic context in the glosses (*Abrogans*, *Murbacher Hymne*, *Benediktinerregel*) means that the distribution of *-mes* and non-*-mes* forms potentially represents a secondary artifact of a syntactically conditioned phenomenon. The dearth of attestations in the *Freisinger Paternoster* and in the *Isidor* makes drawing statistically significant conclusions impossible. Despite these clear disadvantages, suggestive regularities are worth mentioning. First of all, present indicative and adhortative forms show an almost categorical preference for the *-mes* ending. The only exceptions are forms of the verb ‘to be’ (e.g., *pirum*, *pirun*) which show a marked preference for the non-*-mes* ending. The lack of true preterit-present verbs in the present indicative leaves us wondering if this is a characteristic of the class. The texts yield conflicting information on the present optative, preterit indicative and the preterit optative. The n-values are in many instances exceptionally low, so the distribution of *-mes* versus non-*-mes* forms should be viewed as suggestive rather than decisive. The presence of *-mes* forms in the preterit indicative *Murbacher Hymne* and *Benediktinerregel* (n = 6) and its complete absence in the 1PL preterit forms found in the other texts implies that

preterit attestations of *-mes* are the result of an analogical extension of the suffix to a secondary environment.

At first blush the data from the *Freisinger Paternoster* and the *Isidor* appear to present a contradictory picture, since the *-mes* forms in the *Freisinger Paternoster* are restricted to the present indicative, but in the *Isidor* we find *-mes* forms in the present indicative and present optative. On closer analysis, however, we find that the optatives in the *Freisinger Paternoster* are all in right-bracket position, while all of the optatives in the *Isidor* are adhortatives, the only optatives that are consistently V1 left bracket constructions with an overt subject pronoun following the finite verb. If *-mes* were a purely morphological phenomenon this distribution would be curious. But it appears as though the presence of *-mes* is closely linked to the position of the verb in the left bracket. The following are examples of left bracket forms with *-mes* and right-bracket forms without *-mes* from the *Freisinger Paternoster* (Braune/Ebbinghaus 1994: 34):

- (10) Left bracket verb inflected with *-mes*, no overt subject pronoun

ûzzan des **dikkamês**
outside this.GEN ask-PRES.IND
'Besides this, we ask ...' (attested twice, lines 7, 11)

- (11) Right bracket verb inflected with non-*-mes*, overt subject pronoun

daz **uuir** dê ze demu suonotakin furi inan kahaltana pringan **muozin**
that we it on the judgement-day before him possessed bring might-PRES.OPT
'so that we might be able to bring it before him in our possession on the judgment day'
(lines 8-9)

What should be clear from our presentation of data in (9) is that we treat each text as a representative of a distinct grammatical system. We do not put all tokens into one analytical pot, because we cannot know whether or in what ways the various grammatical systems that yielded the texts of the OHG corpus were related to one another. The low number of attestations in any one text also limits our ability to make any conclusions about the source of *-mes* or its development. Thus, our analysis rests primarily on the two major works of the OHG corpus, Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and the *Tatian*, which both yield decent n-values, are texts of some syntactic value and show oscillation between the short and long inflection. That said, the general pattern suggested in the *Freisinger Paternoster* is found in the *Evangelienbuch* as well.

3.1. The *-mes* suffix in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*

In this section we present evidence demonstrating that *-mes* in the ninth century *Evangelienbuch* must be treated as a grammaticalized pronominal clitic. We base this conclusion on the fact that verbs inflected with the long form in Otfrid are invariably found in the left bracket. What is more, we will see that *-mes* is associated with morphological categories and functions that are crucially linked to left bracket syntax, that is, the adhortative and, what we call, the semantic optative, with some evidence of a limited expansion into indicative contexts.

3.1.1. Summary of data patterns and the semantics of verbs inflected with *-mes*

We begin this section by presenting the basic distributional facts of the suffix in Otfrid: first, we note that first person plural (1PL) verbs inflected with *-mes* are in the clear minority, comprising only 9 percent of the 1PL tokens, and that 1PL *-mes* verbs have fewer overt pronouns than non-*-mes* verbs⁶.

⁶ A Fisher's exact test performed here <https://www.graphpad.com/quickcalcs/contingency1.cfm> indicates that the association between bracket type and mood is significant with a two-tailed p-value of less than 0.0001. Unless otherwise indicated, any further tests presented below were run using the same calculator.

(12) The distribution of overt pronouns across *-mes* and non-*mes* 1PL verbs

n=448	non- <i>mes</i> (- <i>Vn</i>) verbs (n=407)	- <i>mes</i> verbs (n=41)
Overt pronoun	326 (80%)	5 (12%)
No overt pronoun	81 (20%)	36 (88%)

Among just the *-mes* tokens the following patterns are evident: first, all the *-mes* verbs surface in the left bracket of unambiguously main clauses. Second, six of these tokens function as present indicative verbs, whereas most *-mes* verbs are better identified as present optative verbs, that is, 35 (of 41) tokens or 85 percent. For many, though not all, of these present optative *-mes* verbs, an adhortative reading of the clause is possible. This is to say that we do not see adhortative as a separate morphological category in Otfrid. Instead any 1PL present optative (and sometimes indicative) verb can take on adhortative semantics if used in the right semantic context.

In our dataset, we found eight *-mes* inflected verbs contained in clauses with unambiguously adhortative semantics (13).

- (13) Er sprah zen júngoron thó: “**wísomes** thero Júdono! **Farames** ávur thara
he said to-the disciples then seek-1PL the Jews-GEN.PL go-1PL again there
zi ín hína in iro lánt in!”
to them away into their land
‘He said then to the disciples: let us seek out the Jews! Let us go again to them
there, away from here into their land.’ (Otfrid, III 23 27)

The biblical context of these clauses, in which Jesus decides that he and his disciples must make their way to Bethlehem to raise Lazarus from the dead, eliminates an optative reading of the bolded verbs in (13) as a possibility. They are most appropriately read as adhortative verbs that express Jesus’s strong intention that he and the disciples take the stated action, rather than as an expression of a wish or possibility (‘may we/we may seek’ or ‘may we/we may go’).

We also found seven *-mes* tokens contained in clauses in which an optative reading with no adhortative semantics is the better choice.

- (14) **Símes** ouh giwísse / fora themo instantnisce / mit mínnon
to-be-PRES.OPT also certain before the resurrection with love
io ginuagen / zisamane unsih fuagen / **Scówomes** ouh thánne /
always enough-ADJ together REFL bound See- PRES.OPT also then
wára druhtin gánge / wir únsih imo io náhen / thaz
wherever Lord go- PRES.OPT we REFL him ever draw-nearer-PRES.OPT that
wir ni missifáhen-PRES.OPT
we NEG go-astray (‘/’ indicates caesura breaks,)
‘We may also be certain (that?) before the resurrection (that?) with always enough love we
are bound together. We may also then see (that) wherever the Lord may go, we may draw
ever nearer to him, (so?) that we may never go astray.’ (Otfrid, III 7 7-10)

Immediately before the lines in (14), Otfrid notes that we all know with certainty that it was before Easter when Christ rose from the dead (*Giwisso wizzun wir tház theiz fora then óstoron wás, tho druhtin wolt es waltan, fon themo grábe irstántan*, ‘We know for certain that it was before Easter, when the Lord wanted to do this, to rise from the grave.’). Just as we all know this statement to be true, we can also be certain of the perhaps less self-evident fact that we are always bound to the Lord. The implied semantic connection between the first thought and the second implies an optative reading of the clauses containing *-mes* with no adhortative semantics. This interpretation is shared by Piper (1884: 423, 592), who in his glossary does not identify *Símes* and *Scówomes* as adhortative, only as present optative.

Most of the present optative *-mes* verbs, however, are more ambiguous with respect to whether they convey adhortative semantics. There are twenty examples similar to the one in (15).

- (15) [*Wúrtun in in note thie lichamon dóte, thio séla filu ríche in themo hohen himilriche*. ‘The dead would have become unto them well and truly very rich souls in the high heavens’. Lines 69-70]

Duemes wír ouh uns in múat thaz filu mánagfalta gúat wír tharzua ouh
do-1PL we also us in mind that very manifold good we of-this also
húggen thes himilriches thíggen
be-mindful the-GEN.SG heavenly-kingdom-GEN.SG ask
‘May we/ let us consider this very manifold goodness, so that we may be mindful of this.
This we may ask of the heavenly kingdom.’ (Otfrid, V 23 71a)

In the previous lines Otfrid discusses the sacrifice of Christian martyrs, who endured torture and death in the earthly realm but found perfection and everlasting life in the hereafter. We are supposed to remember this fact, but it is ambiguous to the modern reader and perhaps also to the medieval reader/listener, as to whether that thought is expressed as the preferred option or as more of an exhortation. Other data support the argument that clauses such as the one in (4) might have been ambiguous even in the ninth century. First, the *-mes* suffix also inflects six present indicative verbs in Otfrid, usually without adhortative semantics, though there is one notable exception to this, which we will discuss in some detail below. This is to say that the association between *-mes* and adhortative semantics is not absolute and, so, we cannot assume that an adhortative reading for clauses like the one in (4) would have been unequivocal. Second, it is possible that the adhortative could be expressed through the periphrastic construction, *wir sculun* ‘we should’ + infinitive, which in Otfrid can often be taken to mean ‘let us’. These data also undermine an unambiguous association between *-mes* and the adhortative.

Let us consider some examples of these types of data, beginning with *-mes* tokens associated with the present indicative that carry no adhortative semantics.

- (16) [*Hiar stréwit thiu sin gúati in uns thio úbarmuati, thia únsera dúmpheit*, Here his goodness scatters in us arrogance, our foolishness,... Lines 11-12]

Wir **lázemes** uns líchan mán then filu ríchan, **firmónames** zi nótí
we allow ourselves like man DET very rich despise as-a-result
anderero ármuati
others’ poverty
‘We allow (this) (of) ourselves like the very rich man, (and) thoroughly despise the poverty of others’ (Otfrid, III 3 13-14)

This clause appears in one of the many chapters in which Otfrid pauses the gospel narrative to tell the reader what the spiritual meaning of these stories is (the chapters entitled *Moraliter*). In (16) Otfrid is clearly admonishing us for the way we behave toward to the poor, not suggesting or exhorting us to behave in this way; a non-adhortative indicative reading is the only possible one.

The only example of an indicative verb inflected with *-mes* in which we assume adhortative semantics comes in a clause that is coordinated with a *wir sculun* + infinitive construction.

- (17) [Chapter 14: Interrogabant Johannem turbae: quid faciemus? The crowds ask John: what do we do?]

Wir **scúlun** thiu wórt ahton, thara háрто ouh zúa drahton, joh **scúlumes**
we should the words heed for-this mightily also strive and should-PRES.1

siu irfüllen mihilemo willen
 them fulfil great intention-DAT.SG
 ‘Let us heed the words and strive mightily for this. And let us fulfil them very willingly.’
 (Otfrid, I 24 14-15)

When analyzed in isolation, the two 1PL verbs could be translated as either periphrastic adhortatives or more literally as modal constructions with preterit presents. However, Piper (1884: 416) in his comprehensive glossary of Otfrid identifies both verbs as the former, and consideration of the biblical verses on which this chapter is based, Luke 3: 1-7, 12-14, makes clear why. Here John the Baptist “prepares the way” for the Lord: “And he went into all the region around the Jordan, proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” (English Standard Version, BibleGateway). After directly quoting John’s exhortations to the people on how to behave, lines that make use of the subjunctive and imperative moods (e.g. *So wer so ouh mûas eigi, gêbe themo ni éigi; thaz mit minnu gidûa joh gib thaz drinkan tharzua*, ‘Whosoever might have food, may he give it to him who does not have it (food), with the result that he might act with love; also give drink as well’ lines 7-8), Otfrid directly addresses the reader, recommending that we also heed John’s words. We agree with Piper that an adhortative reading of the recommendations in (17) makes the most rhetorical sense in this context. We see *sculumes* as an outlier, in that an adhortative reading of indicative verbs, whether they are inflected with *-mes* or not, generally seems not to be possible in Otfrid. But the clause containing *sculumes* coordinates with the *wir sculun* clause and we see both as functioning the same way, as periphrastic adhortative constructions, the first with an overt subject pronoun, the second with no overt pronoun and the *-mes* suffix. The 1PL present indicative *scal* is able to tolerate the -innovative suffix in adhortative context in this case, because this same verb may be used in this periphrastic adhortative, *wir sculun*. Preterit-present verbs are also similar to the present optative of other strong and weak verbs, in that both imply a future action (*I should go*; *I may go*). The inherent semantics of the verb even when in the indicative mood might be more compatible with the adhortative, which is also about potential future action⁷. Another example of *wir sculun* used in an obviously adhortative way can be found in (18).

- (18) Wir sculun úaben thaz sâng, theist scóni gotes ántfang
 we should perform the song, DET-is beauty of-God reception
 ‘Let us sing the song: that is the beauty of God’s reception.’ (Otfrid, I 12 29)

Chapter 12 begins with a description of how an angel of God tells the shepherds about the birth of Jesus, after which a heavenly host proclaims God’s greatness (lines 21-23, *Thó quam, unz er zi in tho sprach, éngilo hêriscaf, himiligu ménigi, sus alle singenti: In himilriches hóhi si gote gúallichî*). In line 25, Otfrid shifts to a spiritual interpretation of this event, in which he elaborates on how this news affects us and how we might react to it. The lines preceding those in (18) are: *Ni láz thir innan thina brúst arges willen gilúst, thaz er fon thir nirstriche then fridu in himilriche* ‘Do not leave in your heart a tendency to bad will, so that he not deny you peace in heaven.’ Surely with the use of *wir sculun* here, Otfrid wishes to exhort us to sing God’s praises, rather than to tell us we ought to do this.

In sum, we found that 1PL *-mes* in Otfrid is associated only with the present tense, never with the preterit, and that it is most strongly associated with the present optative, with or without adhortative emphasis. Only six of 41 tokens are in the present indicative, and one of the six is the adhortative *sculumes* token. All 41 verbs surface in the left bracket of what are unambiguously main clauses.

⁷ Drawing on Piper (1887) and our own semantic assessments, we have identified 23 periphrastic *wir sculun* tokens.

3.1.2. A cliticization and grammaticalization analysis for Otfrid's -mes

In Section 2.2.1, we argued that the restricted syntactic context in which cliticization can occur—it can only happen when the finite verb is in the left bracket, never when it is in the right bracket—has implications for where innovative pronominal inflection is likely to surface first. Thus, if *-mes* does stem from an original subject pronoun, we might expect it to favor left bracket verbs over right bracket verbs. In this respect, the Otfrid data are uncomplicated; all *-mes* inflected verbs are left bracket verbs. But how can we explain the fact that *-mes* can function either as an optative or indicative suffix, while also conveying adhortative semantics in some cases? And do these patterns provide any insight as to why *-mes*, though it must be older, seems to have been much less successful than the second personal singular *-st* in finding its way into Otfrid's grammar: the *-st* suffix is used more frequently vis-à-vis its inherited counterpart, at a rate of 36 percent (Somers 2011: 147), compared to the *-mes* suffix, which appears in only 9 percent of 1PL verbs. What is more, *-st* is also attested in non-cliticization, right bracket environments in Otfrid (Somers 2011: 168).

To explore this point, let us first consider which morphological/semantic categories associate most strongly with the left bracket. Certainly the adhortative would be one; as is the case with the imperative mood, adhortative constructions invariably exhibit left bracket finite verbs, with or without a subject pronoun in postfinite position. Indicative mood clauses would be another one, as indicated by the data in (19).

(19) 1PL in Otfrid, syntactic distribution in present indicative and optative

n=342	Left bracket	Right bracket
Present indicative (n=161)	126 (78%)	35 (22%)
Present optative (n=181)	54 (30%)	127 (70%)

The first person plural in Otfrid shows a statistically significant correlation (p-value < 0.0001) between left bracket finite verbs and the indicative mood, on the one hand, and right bracket finite verbs and the optative mood, on the other. If *-mes* stems from pronominal cliticization, a process that only occurs with left bracket verbs, the data in (19) might lead us to expect that *-mes* would surface more frequently on indicative mood verbs, not optatives, as the former is preferred in the right bracket and the latter in the left. Yet 35 (or 80 percent) of the 41 *-mes* inflected verbs in the text are optative. In order to account for this unexpected fact, we make a distinction between right bracket and left bracket optative constructions; in the case of the former, the verb is often stripped of the semantics of a wish or likely possibility and the optative mood becomes, as Schrodtt (2004: 182-88) phrases it, a marker of syntagmatic dependence.

(20) Thoh will ih es mit willen hiar étheswaz irzëllen
still want I it-GEN.SG gladly here something tell
thaz wîr ni **werden**-PRES.OPT éinon thero goumano **ádeilon**- PRES.OPT
that we NEG become only-ones the-pleasure-GEN.PL unfamiliar
‘Still I gladly want to tell you something of it here, so that we do not become the only ones unfamiliar with these pleasures.’ (II 9 3-4)

Wir sáhun sinan stérron thoh wir therā búrgi **irron**
we saw his star though we the town wander-about-PRES.OPT
‘We saw his star, though we wander about the town.’ (I 17 21)

It is this kind of ‘grammatical’ optative shown in (20) that is a feature of the right bracket and would never exhibit a *-mes* inflected verb in Otfrid; it follows, then, that language learners would also not associate the pronominal suffix with the grammatical optative. Left bracket optative verbs, on the other hand, which can host enclitic pronouns, always carry the semantics of a wish or likely possibility. Thus, it follows that speakers might begin to associate the *-mes* suffix with the left bracket ‘semantic’ optative.

To summarize, the *-mes* suffix in Otfrid occurs only in the left bracket and in those morphological categories associated with it: semantic optative, which covers a pragmatic range from adhortative to a simple wish, and even indicative in some cases. Given both categories' association with the left bracket, we see no reason why *-mes* would not have originally emerged in both morphological contexts; the initial syntactic context of a cliticization environment, that is, left bracket *Verb + Subject* collocations, that would have been crucial. We do, however, think the data in Otfrid point toward the poet having associated *-mes* more strongly with the semantic optative. First, there is the simple fact that *-mes* occurs far more frequently with a semantic optative verb or adhortative (36 tokens out of 41)⁸. Second, unlike the 2SG *-st* suffix, *-mes* has not been extended to right bracket environments in Otfrid, where many clauses do have optative mood verbs, but the optative in this environment has a grammatical rather than semantic function. If we assume a cognitive association between *-mes* and the semantics of wanting or wishing for something to happen, it follows that the pronominal suffix would not be extended into this new syntactic environment where the optative serves the function of marking dependency. Introduction of a periphrastic adhortative *uuir sculun* + infinitive could then be seen as a disambiguation strategy: *-mes* inflected verbs can carry varying degrees of illocutionary force, whereas the periphrastic construction would be associated only with adhortative.

The *-mes* suffix's association with left bracket categories may also be the reason why it did not find the same success as *-st* in Otfrid, which does extend into right bracket environments. As discussed in Section 2.2.1., an analogical association with preterit-present verbs, such as *weist* and *kanst*, and the verb 'to be', *bist*, likely encouraged the pronominal suffix's extension into the right bracket environments. The *-mes* suffix has no such analogical models. Beyond the similarly shaped preterit-presents which likely encouraged an extension into right bracket environments, there are other reasons why speakers might not have formed strong associations between pronominal *-st* and the left bracket's morphological categories, that is, the adhortative, semantic optative and indicative. Unlike *-mes*, which would occur in all three contexts, *-st* would only occur in semantic optative and indicative clauses, as the 2SG had a morphologically distinct category conveying enhanced illocutionary force: the imperative mood. Strong verbs inflected for the second person imperative exhibit just the root, e.g. *far heimortsun* 'Go home!' (Otfrid II 4 73), weak verbs the root plus the suffix associated with their class, e.g. *zeli mir* 'Tell me!' (Otfrid III 17 53). As a result, there was no opportunity for the semantically similar imperative and left bracket optative to bleed together and form one larger, more substantive morphological category, as they seem to have done in the 1PL in Otfrid. The semantic optative in the 2SG, thus, remains a more restricted, more infrequently attested category in Otfrid, and it is less likely that speakers would have associated the new ending with it.

In sum, we think it is unlikely that, at the moment of composition, Otfrid had formed any cognitive link between pronominal *-st* and the left bracket or any of its associated morphological categories: imperative, semantic optative or indicative. We furthermore think it is possible that the absence of this association, in addition to the analogical models of *weist* and *bist*, contributed to the extension of *-st* into right bracket environments. The *-mes* suffix, in contrast, does show signs of having been associated with the left bracket semantic optative, and, with no analogical models present elsewhere in the grammar that could potentially ease its introduction into the right bracket, it is confined to its original syntactic environment⁹. Not only is *-mes* a suffix without a future in this dialect, it is well on its way out the door at the moment of the *Evangelienbuch*'s composition. Recall that non-*-mes* inflected 1PL verbs outnumber *-mes*-inflected verbs at a rate of

⁸ As we noted above, we see the one adhortative indicative token, *sculumes*, as sharing features with the present optative *-mes* forms and do not see the verb in the same light as the other indicative *-mes* forms, which are not adhortative and not preterit-present verbs.

⁹ There could also be a phonological reason why *-mes* sees less success in Otfrid than the innovative *-st*. Unlike the change from *-s* to *-st*, which involves a relatively small net gain of phonological material, *-n* becoming *-mes* involves a more substantial phonological increase. This kind of change is not in line with the general trend observed for OHG morphology, which is one of reduction. OHG *-mes* seems to be a suffix with no future, at least not in this dialect.

almost ten to one (see (12)). Given this disparity, it is no surprise that we also find *-Vn* inflections in the left bracket, in indicative and optative contexts, further undermining *-mes*'s *raison d'être* and hastening its ultimate demise.

3.2. The *-mes* suffix in Tatian's *Evangelienharmonie*

One might conclude that, if the data in one OHG text point to *-mes*'s origins as a pronominal clitic, then the suffix must be treated as pronominal across the OHG corpus. Though the argument that the suffix is pronominal in one ninth century idiolect and inherited in others does seem a difficult one to make, to simply assume *-mes* in the Tatian is pronominal would be to deny the fragmented nature of the OHG corpus. Furthermore, we will see below that *-mes* in the Tatian patterns differently than in Otfrid and does not show the same preference for left bracket constructions. We argue, mostly on the basis of *pro*-drop patterns, that *-mes* in the Tatian must also be seen as pronominal, but the Tatian data indicate that pronominal encliticization and grammaticalization can unfold in different ways, even in related dialects. We begin this section with a description of the Tatian data.

3.2.1. Summary of data patterns in the Tatian

The first thing that we may note about the Tatian data is that, unlike in Otfrid where 41 *-mes* tokens are outnumbered by 407 non-*-mes* tokens, the long form is attested more frequently than the short form: the *Evangelienharmonie* has 119 *-mes* tokens compared to only 32 non-*-mes* tokens. Another difference between Otfrid and Tatian is that in the former text, *-mes* attaches mostly to present optative verbs, with a handful of present indicative forms, whereas in the latter, *-mes* is attested in all four tense/mood categories of the verb: there are 57 present indicative verbs, 27 present optative, 34 preterit indicative and 1 preterit optative. The Tatian shows six distinct scribal hands, though not every scribe exhibits *-mes* in each tense/mood category.

(21) Scribal breakdown, *-mes* (and non-*-mes*) attestations across the four tense/mood categories

119 <i>-mes</i> (32 -Vn)	pres.i (n=77)	pres.opt (n=37)	pret.i (n=34)	pret.opt (n=3)
α (n=26)	12 (3)	5 (1)	5	0
β (n=27)	6 (6)	6	6 (3)	0
γ (n=17)	7	4	6	0
δ (n=15)	6 (1)	8	0	0
ε (n=6)	2 (3)	0	1	0
ζ (n=60)	24 (7)	12 (1)	8 (5)	1 (2)
All scribes (n=151)	57 (20) 74% - 26%	35 (2) 95% - 5%	26 (8) 76% - 24%	1 (2) 33% - 67%

Most of the scribes show an oscillation between long and short forms; γ, however, exhibits only 1PL verbs inflected with *-mes*, and δ has but one non-*-mes* token out of fifteen total tokens. Scribe ζ is the only one to have both long and short forms in all tense/mood forms of the verb, though he still favors the *-mes* suffix over non-*-mes* in all but the preterit optative. Like in the Otfrid text, Tatian's *-mes* is associated with adhortative semantics, though the latter text has a lower occurrence of adhortative: Tatian has 13 adhortative tokens, compared to Otfrid's 28¹⁰. Thus, the proportion of adhortative to non-adhortative *-mes* is quite a bit smaller in Tatian (not quite 11 percent) than in Otfrid, where 28 *-mes* tokens (or 68 percent of 41 total) have possible or definite adhortative semantics.

Also different from the Otfrid data is the fact that Tatian's *-mes* is found in both the left and right brackets: Tatian has 84 *-mes* verbs in left bracket constructions (71 percent) versus 35 right

¹⁰ Determining whether a token is adhortative or not is a simpler proposition in the Tatian than in Otfrid, as we can look to the Latin source text, which renders adhortatives with the subjunctive, as opposed to adhortatives in the translation, which are in the indicative: *Auxilium ad misers ferâmus* 'Let us bring aid to the wretched men' (Moreland and Fleischer 1977: 386).

bracket *-mes* verbs (29 percent). Verbs exhibiting the non-*mes* ending show a similar syntactic distribution with 27 of them in the left bracket (84 percent) and 5 in the right bracket (16 percent)¹¹. The fact that both long and short suffixes correlate with left bracket constructions is inconsistent with our earlier prediction that pronominal suffixes would first prefer the left bracket, with the possibility of a later extension into the right bracket. That is, if a text represents a snapshot of a dialect in which a pronominal suffix has been introduced but still occurs alongside a non-pronominal suffix—as we might assume is the case for the Tatian—it is problematic that the non-*mes* and *-mes* suffixes are just as likely to surface in the text’s left bracket constructions; we would have expected that the former ending type would favor the right bracket and the latter the left.

Though there are some similarities between the two texts in the occurrence of overt subject pronouns, ultimately the Tatian and Otfrid pattern differently in this respect as well. More specifically, in both texts there is a correlation between the *-mes* suffix and a non-overt subject pronoun. However, each text exhibits different tendencies with regard to *where* overt subject pronouns occur. Beginning with the rates of overt subjects, the data in (22) illustrate that clauses with a left bracket *-mes* inflected verb prefer non-overt pronouns¹².

(22) Left bracket *-mes*, Tatian and Otfrid compared

	Overt pronoun	No overt pronoun
Otfrid (n=41)	5 (12%)	36 (88%)
Tatian (n=84)	32 (38%)	52 (62%)

This tendency holds for both Otfrid and the Tatian, though the pattern is significantly¹³ more pronounced in the former text. The fact that Otfrid exhibits overt pronouns at a lower rate than the Tatian is surprising, because the idiolect of Otfrid, on the whole, shows low rates of *pro*-drop (see Somers in press). The Tatian, on the other hand, is a translation of *pro*-drop source and many, though by no means all, instances of the Latin *pro*-drop have been transferred into the OHG translation, while the OHG has no cases of *pro*-drop that are not also present in the Latin. Thus, we might expect to see fewer, not more, overt pronouns in the Tatian.

Focusing now on just the Tatian, we can see that there is a clear interaction between suffix type (non-*mes* or *-mes*) and pronoun type (overt or not). These findings here are consistent with the tendencies described in Axel (2007:317-18)¹⁴.

(23) Tatian’s left bracket *-mes* and non-*mes* compared

	Verbs with <i>-mes</i> (n=84)	Verbs with non- <i>mes</i> (n=27)
Overt pronoun	32 (38%)	26 (96%)
No overt pronoun	52 (62%)	1 (4%)

Verbs inflected with the short ending almost invariably are accompanied by an overt pronoun, whereas verbs with the long ending show a preference for non-overt pronouns. In order to

¹¹ A Fisher’s exact test confirms that the slightly higher proportion of non-*mes* tokens in the left bracket compared to *-mes* tokens does not rise to the level of statistical significance, with two-tailed p-value of 0.1746. This is to say there is no significant correlation between suffix type and syntactic position.

¹² We only look at the interaction between suffix-type and pronoun occurrence in left bracket constructions, as there is a noted asymmetry in the Tatian, whereby overt subjects are more frequent in subordinate clauses than in main clauses (see Axel 2007’s Chapter 6). Regardless of why precisely overt subject pronouns are more frequently attested in subordinate clauses than in main clauses, the pattern is systematic and implies that other factors lie behind the high rates of overt pronouns in subordinate clauses.

¹³ Fisher’s exact test 2x2 contingency table yields a p-value of 0.0032.

¹⁴ Axel (2007) offers no analysis of these tendencies, but Axel & Weiß (2010) does. We will not discuss these studies in any detail, because their underlying assumption that *pro*-drop in OHG was a native phenomenon licensed only when the finite verb was fronted—in main clauses—is not one we accept.

account for the influence of the Latin source, we also isolated the rates of pronoun insertion across the different suffix types.

(24) Pronoun insertion rates across suffix type in the Tatian, left bracket constructions

	<i>-mes</i> (n=84)	non- <i>mes</i> (n=27)
No Latin pronoun, no OHG pronoun → No pronoun insertion	52 (62%)	1 (3.7%)
Latin pronoun, OHG pronoun → Latin pronoun translated in OHG	13 (15%)	5 (18.5%)
No Latin pronoun, OHG pronoun → Pronoun insertion	19 (23%)	21 (77.8%)

As (24) shows, the rate of pronoun insertion is much lower in left bracket clauses with *-mes* inflected verbs than those with no *-mes*. Note that there is only one attestation in which the translator declined to insert a pronoun with a non-*mes* verb.

We also found that the type of inflection influences whether a pronoun was inserted pre- or postfinitely. In the case of *-mes*, all of the nineteen inserted pronouns were preverbal, that is, *uuir* + verb-*mes* sequences. The only *-mes* inflected verbs that exhibit a postfinite subject are two tokens (135,8; 235,3) in which the OHG mirrors the Latin *Verb-Subject* construction and reproduces the emphatic *et nos*.

(25) *gemes uuir thaz uuir sterben mit imo*
 go-PRES.OPT we that we die-PRES.OPT with him
 ‘Let us go, so that we may die with him.’
 (eamus et nos, ut moriamur cum eo) (135,8)

This fact contrasts with Otfrid, in which three of the five *-mes* tokens with an overt pronoun are *Verb-Subject* constructions and two are *Subject-Verb*. These data suggest that, while Otfrid allows for postfinite subjects to combine with a *-mes* inflected verb, the idiolects represented in the Tatian do not. In contrast, Tatian’s non-*mes* verbs prefer a postfinite subject placement. We see this tendency in the inserted pronouns, fifteen of which are postverbal, six of which preverbal; that is, *Verb-Subject* was preferred to *Subject-Verb* 71 percent of the time. Even those OHG pronouns with a Latin model show evidence of this tendency: though four of these tokens mimic the original Latin construction (two show a *Verb-Subject* collocation, two show *Subject-Verb*), there is one token where the translator rendered a Latin *Subject ... Verb* construction as OHG *Verb-Subject*, in order to make a more Germanic looking *yes/no*-question.

(26) *eno nu birun uuir blinte*
 is-it-possible now are we blind
 ‘Is it possible we are now blind?’
 (numquid et nos cæci sumus?) (133,4)

All in all, there are eighteen non-*mes* tokens in left bracket *Verb-Subject* contexts; this constitutes a majority of 27 tokens, or roughly 67 percent. It is interesting that it is precisely in the *Verb-Subject* cliticization environment where we never see the long (possibly pronominal) ending but do see verbs inflected with the obviously non-pronominal short ending. Thus, the *uuir* pronoun and *-mes* suffix exhibit something resembling a complementary distribution: either the verb is inflected with *-mes* and there is no postverbal subject (it may occur prefinitely or not at all), or the verb is inflected with the non-*mes* ending and co-occurs with a usually postfinite overt subject.

Examining the interaction of subject and inflection in coordinated clauses provides additional support to this notion of a complementary distribution of the *-mes* suffix and a postverbal subject pronoun. That is, we noticed that verbs inflected with *-mes* tend to occur in coordinated clauses

with a dropped elliptical subject. In the relatively fewer coordinated clauses exhibiting the short ending, the subject is overt. Consider the following three types of coordination. First, there are sequences in which the initial first person plural token is inflected with the short ending (with an overt pronoun) and the coordinated clause with *-mes* and a dropped elliptical subject.

- (27) a. **uuir spanen** inan inti ursurge **tuomes** iuuuih
 we persuade-PRES.IND him and carefree make-PRES.IND you
 ‘We will persuade him and make you carefree.’
 (nos suadebimus ei & securos uos faciemus.) (222,3)
- b. uuanne **gisahun** **uuir** thih gast uuesentan inti **gihalotunmes**¹⁵
 when see-PRET.IND we you guest being and accept-PRET.IND
 thih, oda nacotan inti **bithactumes?**
 you or naked and clothe-PRET.IND
 ‘When did we see you as guest and accept you, or (see you) naked and clothe you?’
 (quando autem te vidimus hospitem et collegimus te, aut nudum et cooperuimus te?)
 (152,4)

Other tokens exhibiting this pattern include 152,7 and 131,13. Then we have sequences in which *-mes* tokens are coordinated with other *-mes* tokens. In these examples, the initial verb may have an overt subject pronoun, but the coordinated clause never does.

- (28) a. oda uuanne **gisahumes** thih ummahtigan oda in carkere
 or when see-PRET.IND you weak or in jail
 inti **quamunmes** zi thir?
 and come-PRET.IND to you
 ‘Or when did we see you weak or in jail and come to you?’
 (aut quando te vidimus infirmum et in carcerem et venimus ad te?) (152,4)
- b. **uuir gisahumes** sinan sterron in ostarlante
 we see-PRET.IND his star in east
 inti **quamumes** inan zi betonne
 and come-PRET.IND him to worship
 ‘We saw his star in the east and came to worship him.’
 (vidimus enim stellam eius in oriente et venimus adorare eum.) (8,1)

Similar clauses include the following: (82, 12), (87, 9), (106, 5) and (113, 1). We found one sequence of coordinated clauses with the short ending; here, however, the subject in the coordinated clauses is not dropped.

- (29) Ni curet ir suorgfolle uuesan sus quedante:
 NEG.IMP-2.PL you sorrowful be thus speaking
 uuaz **ezzen** **uuir** oda uuaz **trinken** **uuir**
 what eat-PRES.IND we or what drink-PRES.IND we
 oda mit hiu **uuaten** **uuir** unsih?
 or with what clothe-PRES.IND we ourselves
 ‘Don’t be sorrowful, saying, “What will we eat, and what will we drink, and with what will we clothe ourselves?”’
 (Nolite ergo solliciti esse dicentes: quid manducabimus aut quid bibemus aut quo operiemur?) (38,6)

Our sole example of a non-*mes* token with no overt pronoun comes to us in a coordinated clause.

¹⁵ Note the presence of apparently double-marked 1PL verbs in these examples: *gihalotunmes* in (27), *quamunmes* in (28a) and *gabunmes* in (30). We return to these forms below.

- (30) Tho antlingitun imo thie rehton inti quadun:
 then responded to.him those righteous-NOM.PL and said
 trohtin, uuanne **gisahun** **uuir** thih hungrentan inti **fuotritun** thih,
 lord when see-PRET.IND we you hungering and feed-PRET.IND you
 thurstentan inti **gabunmes** thir trinkan?
 thirsting and give-PRET.IND to.you drink-INF
 ‘Then the righteous ones responded to him and said, “Lord, when did we see you hungering
 and feed you, (or see you) thirsting and gave you something to drink?”’
 (Tunc respondebunt ei iusti dicentes: domine quando te vidimus esurientem et pavimus,
 sitientem et dedimus tibi potum?) (152,4)

We see the token in (30) as exceptional, and its presence does not undermine the general pattern evident in these data. That is, coordinated clauses show a clear preference for verbs inflected with *-mes* and no overt pronoun, but in those cases where the coordinated clause does show a short inflection, the pronoun is overt.

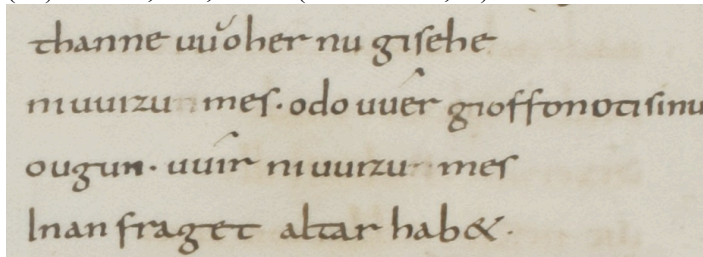
3.2.2. An account of Tatian’s *-mes*

The Tatian data present certain difficulties for a cliticization and grammaticalization account of the *-mes* suffix, in that they are contradictory: the distribution of *-mes* does not show the syntactic sensitivity we would expect, given our theoretical assumptions about how cliticization, grammaticalization and extension unfolds; yet the manner in which the subject pronoun *uuir* and *-mes* interact with one another suggests the suffix is pronominal, synchronically and perhaps also diachronically. Considering the syntactic question first, Section 3.2.1. demonstrated that *-mes* and non-*-mes* verbs were equally likely to surface in the left or right bracket. Thus, it is also not surprising that the data give no indication that the translator(s), at the moment of the text’s composition, associated the *-mes* suffix with left bracket morphological categories, such as adhortative or the indicative. Recall that less than eleven percent of Tatian’s *-mes* forms are adhortative and that the suffix surfaced in indicative and optative contexts, as well as in present and preterit tense verbs.

However, the data—in particular the various constraints that seem to dictate when and where overt pronouns can occur—also suggest that *-mes* can act in a pronominal capacity and that speakers associate it with the pronoun *uuir*. We interpret the fact that the text contains not a single attestation of a *Verb-mes* + *uuir* sequence, while *Verb-n* + *uuir* sequences are frequently attested, as significant. In the latter type of collocation, the short ending is insufficient to mark for the first person plural and an overt subject pronoun is required; in the former, *-mes* does suffice as a pronominal marker, rendering any postverbal inclusion of an overt subject pronoun redundant, perhaps even ungrammatical. We do not see the existence of *Subject* + *Verb-mes* sequences as problematic for this narrative, though it does provide an interesting wrinkle. That is, we posit that it is particularly in the original cliticization environment of inverted *Verb-Subject* clauses, where *uuir* immediately follows *-mes*, that the association between the pronoun *uuir* and the suffix *-mes* is made explicit or is more noticeable. In *Subject-Verb* clauses, on the other hand, the association between the two is less noticeable, and so an overt subject may combine with a left bracket *-mes* inflected verb.

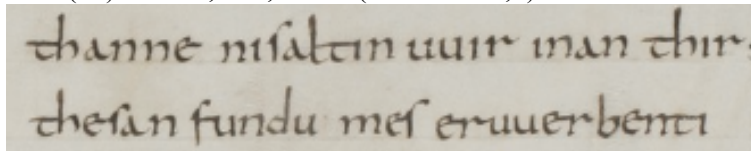
When discussing the extent to which the various first person plural suffixes can serve a pronominal function, we might also consider evidence from the manuscript, in which an interesting kind of scribal variation is on display. Scribe ζ, who has the most IPL forms overall (see (21)) and inflects verbs with *-mes* in varied grammatical contexts, also produces tokens with idiosyncratic inflection, some of which are changed at a later point. Consider the following example.

(31) Masser, 222, 13-14 (Sievers 132,12)¹⁶



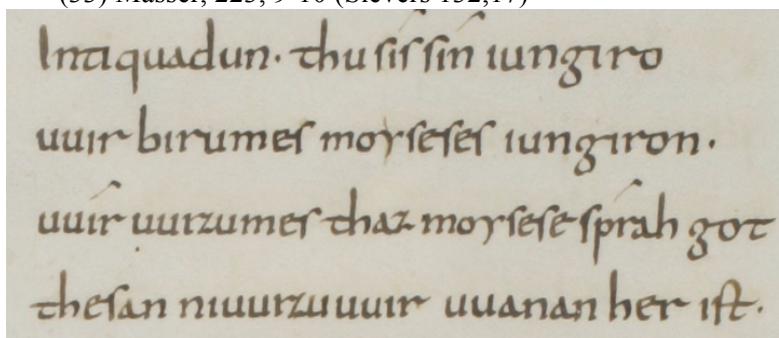
Initially the scribe wrote *niuuizunmes*, and the *n* is erased afterwards, indicating that whoever acted as editor for the project (Bostock 1976:161 says it was scribe ζ himself), later decided that including the *n* was an error or inconsistent with other forms in the text. Scribe ζ does not always inflect the verb *to know* for the 1PL in this way; fourteen lines beneath the second *niuuizunmes* in (31), the scribe writes *uuir uuizumes* without the *n*. Scribe ζ produces the idiosyncratic *n* with one other lexical item; in 305,19 an original *fundunmes* is later changed to *fundumes*.

(32) Masser, 305, 18-19 (Sievers 194,2)¹⁷



In the preceding line, the same scribe has produced the sequence *nisaltin uuir*, which provides an interesting counterpoint. Even more idiosyncratic is ζ's production of *uuizuuuir*, in which *uuir* is either a pronominal enclitic or is acting as inflection; this form follows more canonical looking *birumes* and *uuizumes* in the preceding lines.

(33) Masser, 223, 9-10 (Sievers 132,17)¹⁸



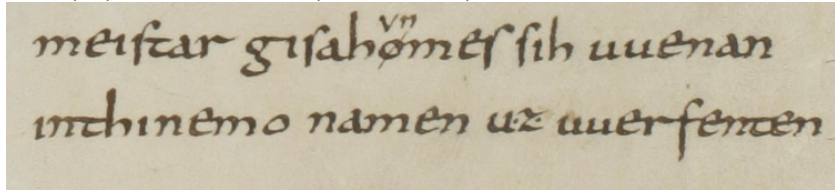
Thus, ζ seems to be our morphological innovator, though we do have one example of creative inflection surfacing in a section attributed to Scribe γ, who otherwise shows no sign of a hybrid ending. In this case the original token had no *n* and was inserted at some later point.

¹⁶ quomodo autem nunc videat nescimus, aut quis eius aperuit oculos nos nescimus: ipsum interrogate: aetatem habet, ipse de se loquatur. All digital images of the Tatian manuscript are from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 56 – Tatian's Gospel Harmony (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0056>) (St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek)

¹⁷ non tibi tradidissimus eum. Hunc inuenimus subvertentem gentem nostram

¹⁸ et dixerunt: tu discipulus illius sis, nos autem Moysi discipuli sumus. Nos scimus quia Moysi locutus est deus, hunc autem nescimus unde sit.

(34) Masser, 151,30 (Sievers 95,1)¹⁹



If ζ is indeed the work's editor, then the insertion of *-un* in (34) should also be attributed to him and not to the otherwise more conventional Scribe γ. Included in ζ's tally of creative inflection are the following tokens: *gabunmes* (152,4; see (30) above), *gihalotunmes* (152,4; see (27) above), *quamunmes* (152,4; see (28a) above), *comenmes* (165,2) and *slizenmes* (203,3). These forms were not amended during the manuscript's editorial process. All in all, there are nine attestations of the hybrid ending and one token with the affixed *-uuir*. If we focus on those endings we can attribute to ζ with some certainty, we see the following syntactic breakdown.

(35) Scribe ζ's 1PL inflectional endings

(n=60) [†]	Left bracket	Right bracket
Hybrid ending (n=8)	7	1
<i>-uuir</i> (n=1)	1	0
Just <i>-mes</i> (n=37)	28	9
<i>-Vn</i> (n=14)	12	2

[†] That is, we do not include the one token with *-nmes* attested in scribe γ's section, though we suspect that this Scribe ζ is responsible for this form as well.

Scribe ζ's innovative endings, i.e., *-nmes* and *-uuir* almost invariably attach to left bracket verbs²⁰, though this distribution is not significantly different from what is found with the more canonical short and long forms (two-tailed p-value = 0.774)²¹. However, the *-nmes* ending in left bracket clauses does pattern differently from *-mes* in terms of whether an overt pronoun is also present. That is, ζ never inflects the verb with *-nmes* when it is a translation of a Latin clause with an overt subject pronoun, or when the OHG inserts the subject pronoun. The *-nmes* only appears in clauses in which the Latin *pro-drop* is apparently maintained.

(36) Scribe ζ's *-mes* endings with and without the *-Vn-*, left bracket only

(n=35)	<i>Pro-drop</i>	Overt pronoun
<i>-nmes</i> (n=7)	7	0
<i>-mes</i> (n=28)	17	11

This distribution is not quite statistically significant (the two-tailed p-value equals 0.0721), but the pattern is suggestive. At the very least, the existence of these forms indicate that, for scribe ζ the 1PL inflection was in flux. That is, he seems to be actively working out what the inflection should be in certain 1PL main clause verbs, resulting in the creation of idiosyncratic morphemes. These tokens also suggest to us that ζ sees *-mes* and the pronoun *uuir* as functional equivalents, in that they can both act as the subject pronoun of a clause. So, a form like *fundunmes*, instead of being a verb that is inflected twice, is equivalent to the collocation *fundun uuir*, where the *n* is the verbal inflection and *-mes* the pronoun. In this way, *-mes* functions like a pronominal clitic. Against the backdrop of such forms, the *uizuuuir* token might be seen as more than just a random idiosyncrasy. Perhaps here the pronoun *uuir* is attaching to the verb like *-mes* does,

¹⁹ magister, vidimus quendam in nomine tuo eicientem demonia

²⁰ Axel & Weiß (2010: 24) counts only 7 such forms. They did not account for those two tokens that exhibit an erased *-n* in the manuscript, presented in (31) above.

²¹ The Fisher's exact test (2x4 contingency table) was performed here: <http://vassarstats.net/fisher2x4.html>.

because in the mind of the scribe, they are more or less the same²². The fact then that these creative forms mainly surface in left bracket main clause verbs is no coincidence: it is only in a main clause that *-mes* could function, or be interpreted as functioning, like a pronominal clitic. When attached to a right bracket verb, *-mes* can only act, or be interpreted as acting, like inflection: *uuanta thaz uuir uuizumes* ‘because we know that’ (119, 6).

Thus, the Tatian data suggest that *-mes* is multi-functioning: in some contexts it acts like inflection, that is, in *Subject (...) Verb* environments, regardless of whether the verb itself is in the right or left bracket. On the other hand, when the finite verb is in the left bracket and some other constituent (i.e., not a subject) appears in the prefield, *-mes* functions as a clitic pronoun. We might consider applying Hopper’s descriptive Principle of Persistence to the *-mes* morpheme in the Tatian. That is, the long form has new grammatical function as an inflectional suffix but has also retained its old meaning as a personal pronoun. We must also note, however, that unlike in Otfrid where the syntactic distribution of *-mes* indicates that it is pronominal in origin, the evidence in the Tatian only points to *-mes* being *synchronically* pronominal. Indeed the long form is not restricted to the left bracket in the same way as it is in Otfrid and appears in syntactic environments where we would expect grammaticalized suffixes to appear, i.e., in the right bracket. Even more problematic is that Tatian’s *-mes* never appears in inverted VS collocations, exactly the environment that would have birthed it in an account that assumes cliticization and subsequent grammaticalization. There are several analytical conclusions we can draw: that the long suffix in the Tatian 1. does not stem from a clitic pronoun but has been reanalyzed as one in inverted VS contexts and 2. that it is an original clitic pronoun that has been reanalyzed as inflection in *Subject (...) Verb* environments but retained its pronominal identity in those environments in which the association between *-mes* and *wir* is more explicit or noticeable, i.e., in VS collocations. A variation on option 2 would be that Tatian’s long suffix was reanalyzed as inflection in all environments and later re-established a link with, was reanalyzed again as, the subject pronoun *wir*.

We think some variation on option 2 is our best bet; others have thought differently. For example, Axel & Weiß (2010: 23-24) prefer option 1; they claim that the literature has established that *-mes* does not derive from a personal pronoun, but it has been reanalyzed as pronominal in OHG. They cite no literature and offer no discussion to substantiate the implication that there is unanimity among those advancing a morpho-phonological account of *-mes*. Our investigation shows that such accounts are as diverse as they are problematic. Axel & Weiß also offer no broad empirical data in support of their conclusions. They discuss only isolated examples drawn mostly from the translational texts. They ignore Otfrid altogether, where the syntactic data suggest a cliticization and grammaticalization explanation. With respect to the two possibilities contained in option 2, it would be the theoretically friendlier choice to assume that *-mes* retains its pronominal identity in VS configurations—where subject pronouns still actively cliticize onto preceding left bracket finite verbs—and did not lose and then reestablish this identity. This would allow us to avoid invoking the still controversial notion of degrammaticalization, while providing us theoretical cover in the Persistence Principle. Assuming that *-mes* was reanalyzed as inflection in all syntactic environments would also require us to accept some unattested stage in the grammar with a completely grammaticalized *-mes*. In contrast, assuming that *-mes*’s pronominal identity is constant in VS environments, grammaticalized in S(...)V environments is the simpler option.

²² Axel & Weiß (2010: 23) see this token as a diachronic forerunner of Middle High German IPL verbs, in which the *-n* in the *-Vn* suffix is dropped in *Verb-Subject* inversion collocations. We see no diachronic link between this single form in the Tatian, the only one of its kind across the entirety of the eighth and ninth century OHG corpus, and similar forms in texts composed centuries later. We prefer to analyze the token against the backdrop of ζ’s general propensity toward inflectional innovation, one that mostly yields an inserted *n* where we do not expect it (as in *-nmes*), rather than dropped ones.

4. Conclusion

Engaging in linguistic analyses of early Germanic and OHG in particular is generally an activity characterized by privation. This is particularly true for any investigation into the history OHG's mysterious 1PL suffix. Given the data that are available at present, there exists no sensible morpho-phonological account of OHG's *-mes*; all attempts made so far are ad hoc and unsatisfying. We also do not have a wealth of syntactic data for OHG. However, we do have enough to draw some syntactic conclusions about where the long ending occurs in texts like Otfrid and the Tatian. Our approach then has been to accept that we can only make headway on the question of whether *-mes* is pronominal. We treat the two major sources of *-mes*, Tatian and Otfrid, as attestations of different grammars, not representatives of one OHG grammar and show that the long suffix functions differently in each. In the case of Otfrid, *-mes* is confined to the left bracket and has become a marker of certain left bracket categories, i.e., the semantic adhortative and optative and, to a much lesser extent, the indicative. These facts are consistent with a cliticization and grammaticalization narrative. The picture is more mixed in the Tatian, in that the long form does not show the same left bracket association it exhibits in Otfrid. In fact, it acts like grammaticalized inflection in S(...)V contexts, while simultaneously behaving pronominally in VS configurations. That is, *-mes* in Tatian shows evidence of being synchronically pronominal. Given the evidence that *-mes* is etymologically pronominal in one ninth century dialect and synchronically pronominal in the Tatian, concluding that Tatian's *-mes* also stems from an original pronoun is the simplest explanation, though we fully accept that it is not an empirically grounded conclusion.

In light of the considerable challenges with respect to data, it is notable that those we have point so clearly to the long inflection being pronominal, and we think that this aspect of the "problem" of the *-mes* suffix should be laid to rest. We also think that the case of OHG *-mes* complicates the concept of the grammaticalization cline in an interesting and necessary way. That is, the cline invites one to begin with an *a priori* coherent narrative of grammaticalization and view its associated changes as neatly defined; one simply has to find apparently relevant historical examples, extract them from the context of the grammatical system that created them and paste them onto its pre-existing diachronic template. We would like to advocate for a balancing out of the top-down approach so often used in historical linguistics and encourage more fine-grained, bottom-up analyses that examine the synchronic variation produced in a historical text as comprehensively as possible, venture an analysis of these data as products of one grammatical system (or as a set of closely related systems, in the case of texts produced by several scribes under the editorship of one man) and then attempt to build a diachronic account of morphosyntactic change. Given the limitations of early medieval corpora, that account may be correspondingly constrained but at least we can be somewhat assured that it is empirical and not a facile mirroring of theoretical assumptions. The small size of the OHG corpus is a lamentable reality for the those interested in the early history of German, but it does offer one advantage: it is entirely realistic in the course of an investigation of something like the 1PL to isolate every single relevant form across the eighth and ninth centuries and to not take (anything close to) a lifetime to do it. We would like to see more of this empirical work done in the future.

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